We. The houses in the oldest negri lama were
342 very large. A whole group of perhaps five fami-
178 lies could live in one. The new style houses,
592 without the "cage" inside and the hooded roof,
are easier to keep clean and are better in
general. Most of the houses built today are
166 of the new style. Very few move around in the
kampong, and even fewer move out of or into
the kampong.

There is extremely little if any migration from one community to another here.

484 Traveling is done for only very short dis-
829 tances, and they know nothing about areas
beyond Larantuka.

20 The kakang has the only telephone here. There is no telegraph. There is no mail service. There is no postman. The priest has a battery radio, but he lives in Riangkamië. Rumor is a very strong thing here, and when the
[727] Japanese were entering the story spread that
[797] they were going to kill all Christians, but not Mohammedans. Many thought it would be good to change their religion and wear a songko.

829 They agree that as their children learn
186 about the world at large the position of the
769 local area sinks in importance. But very few people have much knowledge about the world. This is really the lowest place I have been in yet. Most of the people are strongly attached to their own kampong, and the ancestor cult is very important in localism.

721 Small wars are still carried on, although
578 large ones as in the old days are forbidden by
423 the Dutch. The traditional ally of Wailolong
609 is Leloba. The traditional enemy of Wailolong is Riangkamië, and about fifteen years ago they had a war with Riangkamië. Leloba is now at war with Waibalun, but Riangkamië is also an enemy. The wars are always over borders. The
609 guru says that this is because there is not
423 enough land and that this is also why no aliens

R Smaller private rites are held for such
755 cases as illness. A medicine man or woman (and in the example given they said woman; perhaps they are more frequent than men) is called in and magical rites are performed.

582 614 178 We got onto the suku exogamy matter, and they said at first that one could marry within the suku if the relationship was at least three generations off. But I pressed this a little further and they seemed less certain. I looked over the list which is now up to No. 190, and I noticed only a single case of endogamy. This proved to be a man from the outside who had been "adopted" by the Odja (he was originally from Lio) long ago. He was still separate, however, and I noticed that although he is still trying to find the name of his suku in the old place, the assistant left the suku slot blank for him and his children. This proved to be a case of no bride price and hence matrilocal residence. Thus there is not a single case of suku endogamy. I suspect that they
[124] are either trying to fool me into thinking they follow only Catholic rules, or else they know the latter and talk about them. Or perhaps they just don't phrase the old rules in the same way any more, although they follow them actually in practice.

124 We got onto the schedule as he has written a few short answers already. They are not bad, but it is evident that thinking and writing are painful for him.

342 Formerly the kampong was much larger than it is today and the houses were bigger by far. They are still large. In regard to migration
• 166 the situation is not too clear, but it is quite evident that very few people leave. Most of the individuals who go away are police or soldiers who serve in other parts of Flores. There are also a few teachers who serve elsewhere in Flores. They nearly all come back later. Their

R

166 property and status are kept for them. If any youth wants to go out to seek his fortune, his family and the kampong officers oppose this. They do not want people to leave. There is a [186] strong sense of localism here. For example, [829] I asked why they knew so little about the kampongs which are not far away from them when I had come all the way from the United States to find out something about them. They said that they never went to other kampongs unless it was necessary. This seems to be the Flores pattern.

166 Very few people have immigrated. There are some from other kampongs in Ende and Lio, and in fact these areas account for the examples of immigration aside from the women coming to marry in. Normally, women who marry men from another kampong go to live with their husbands. There are a few individuals from Savu, one [563] Chinese family, and a fair number of Ende town folk on the lower border. They are not members of the kampong.

423 There are evidently two kinds of land: the kampong land in the older parts of the kampong, which is used by members; and border land, which used to belong to Ende or other kampongs and which was bought by either the kampong folk or the Ende folk who live there. Thus the borders have expanded by the latter means. The fields may be used only four to five years and then must lie fallow for a long time. I must get more on the system of land ownership.

614 I had a hard time getting the truth about the 124 suku organization from these people. They are dumber here than in Larantuka by far, and they have lost much more of the memory of the actual rules involved. Still, in Larantuka, I notice that I have to ask many people in order to get answers to some of the complicated questions, for example, in regard to marriage rules. But

Weol

614 All the people in Weol gelarang are of va'u
166 Weol. There is one exception, the va'u Tjepang. These folk came in before from Boleng, in North Manggarai. They settled in kampong Weol, but when things became crowded, they went below to kampong Tjantjar. The latter alone has many people who are not of the va'u Weol, except for real newcomers, such as the Ruteng folk in Ndung, who came to work in the gardens (evidently as coolies) and settled down. There are many outsiders in the mixed and new kampong Tjantjar.

614 The original ancestors of the va'u Weol came
773 out of a bamboo at a spot near the present spring
824 below Weol. There are bamboo trees there de-
784 scended from the original one. The original ancestors were a pair: Vako Dangka and Ine Karas. Not only is the bamboo taboo but also the lusa (red beans). For example, if a child eats these unwittingly, a fowl must be killed. They do not "cut off" the tongue symbolically with a leaf as is done in some other areas.

614 Women from other clans marrying into Weol
784 must take on the taboo of their husbands. A
562 Weol woman marrying into another clan may eat
783 lusa, but only after performing the rite called ela penteng pitak, which means "to clean off the mud." She must take on the totem taboos of her husband's clan. The woman marrying into Weol gives up her own taboos, but must also do the ela penteng pitak. This ceremony involves a pig sacrifice. Thus every woman marrying into another clan must do this rite to give up her own totems. The name of the totem taboo is tjek'ki.

565 There is a nobility which applies to the
632 radjas, dalu, and gelarang. The gelarang are
624 the tuan tanah (and kepala kampong) of the cen-
622 tral kampongs of the gelarang districts, for
[634] example, Weol. Thus Weol has two gelarang, and Ndung has only one, because the kepala kampong

114 582 brothers may not marry two sisters, as this is very much taboo. A man may marry two sisters, [632] however. They agreed that Coolhaas' on marriage 114 rules of the dalu seems correct. As for the 582 folk, the rules indicate preferred clans, but 614 they say this is not too strong. Thus the rule is that Weol men get wives from Manges, a va'u and gelarang in the dalu Velak, to the west, although not very far. It is about a one day walk from here. However, this is not by any means the method followed at all times, and actually only about twenty-five per cent of the women married in here are from Manges (Manges is now called Regak). These were originally from Lelak or Relak, which is a neighboring gelarang to Weol. Thus it looks like a clan localized in district terms with marriage rules between clan-districts as in Wouden's style. The women of Weol usually marry men of Tjepang, the clan which used to live in Weol also, when it was a two-clan kampong, but who now have moved down to Tjanjar. However, Tjepang is the name of a kampong just to the west, also in the Velak area. It looks as though the fact that Tjepang [166] men married Weol women led to more and more Tjepang men coming to live in Weol, until it finally became half Tjepang. (Even now the Ruteng folk who have houses in kampong Ndung are mainly, if not all, men who have married Ndung women, and the latter have gardens here and so the men must come to live in their wives' kampong.) I must get the marriage rules of Ndung.

582 Men of Manges may not marry women of Weol. 614 And men of Weol may not marry women of Tjepang. 583 Thus it goes that Weol gives women to Tjepang, but gets women from Manges. However, Tjepang gives women to Lalong, and another clan gives women to Manges. Bride exchange is taboo, which 582 is in line with the mother's brother's daughter rule.

[See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

243 where around the earthen plaza there are corn
251 drying racks set upright on tall piles. They looked very high and impressive. Every-

126 I took a good photo of an old man before the peo of Masu.

342 Then we went to the kampong of the kepala
764 mere at Brova. His house was a good stucco one
769 though in native style. A large cement covered
346 tomb of his father was in front, and beside it were two great slabs set upright. In the center of the plaza was a finely carved peo with shelleyes. It was set in cement.

132 From here we went back to Badjawa, and thence
124 to Ende, going all of the way in rain. However, when we reached Nangba, eight kilometers from Ende, the river was in a wild flood because of two days rain in the mountains. Therefore we had to stay overnight at the house of a former kapitan of Rukuramba. His younger brother is
[181] the present scribe. The former kapitan has the oily and cringing manner of the Endenese. He
144 is a rather old and handsome man. Here I see the Negroid element beginning. (The Radja of Nageh-Keo is a proto-Malay, but with dark skin.)

632 The kapitan gave us the usual "line" about
648 how the United States is so rich that it must
634 help Indonesia. I am getting tired of this.
578 He also was very troubled about how he was de-
771 posed by the Radja for the Mohammedan kapitan. He constantly brings up the case with the government, but he says that the Mohammedan Radja and his cronies are taking everything. There is only one Christian kapitan left in Ende (Rewaranga). He said the great majority of gemeente Rukuramba are Christian, and when he was removed from office there were nearly no Mohammedans.
634 However, the Radja and his group are now moving
166 Mohammedan settlers in and giving them land.
361 There are more than four hundred here now. And now they are asking the Christians to move up

634 166 361 into the hills with their Christian and pagan relatives and leave the lower lands for the Mohammedans.

632 634 771 578 I wonder if the kapitan of Nggobe, the fat and aggressive man, plus the kapitan of Rodja, who seem to be the right hand men of the Radja, may not form a triumvirate of Mohammedan rule here. The Christians rely on the priests to intervene (the Dutch are no longer here for appeal), and it will result in a funny situation if there is Mohammedan-Catholic trouble here. Note also that of the seven radjas here, only one (Ende) is Mohammedan; and one pagan (Ngada). The others are Christian (Manggarai, Nageh, Sikka, Lio, and Larantuka). This presents a curious pattern, especially when one considers that the RIS is mainly Mohammedan. This is similar to the Ambon situation. The Christian majority locally is in a difficult situation with the former local Mohammedan minority now in the majority group of all Indonesia. No wonder the Christians of Indonesia are frequently against independence.

632 829 The former kapitan is quite bitter, but he is clearly glad to see us and talked a lot to us about his troubles, with the obvious although vague idea that we might get the United States to help in some way. He was impressed by the United States elective system and especially gasped with pleasure when we told him that if a leader was not good to the majority of the folk he would not get reelected. He was also impressed with the fact that we told him there are no radjas. But I reminded him that his claim to office rested on inherited succession, and he began to think. They like succession when it is to their advantage, but see the useful points in the elective system when they can visualize that such a condition might ruin their rivals.

000 bands under their knees formerly.

R Roworeke: On the next day we saw some pro-
582 gress made in making out the census. There are a couple of cases of endogamy, but they are seven "layers" distant.

782 I asked about the oro pesangga, which Such-
telen says are offering posts set before each
346 house in Ende. They said that oro is merely a more polite word for ata, man. And pesangga means merely to stab. Thus it means only a man who stabs, i.e. the one who does the sacrifice. This is very unclear. I got no further with it. Perhaps it is only in the mountains.

The central offering post, tubu musu, mentioned by Suchtelen, is found in Roworeke Asal. I must see it. Suku Gusa has one in Wolowaru,
[361] the deserted kampong lama above here. There the original settlers were Odja and the Gusa folk came in later. Then they both moved down to the present Roworeke.

●166 The Ende folk who live in the border areas
361 of Ndetu and Tana Ri are papalele, i.e., people
[441] who have no land generally but who buy and sell. They have mere huts to live in, and they come for awhile and then leave. However, many of them have been in their huts for four to five years, so all of them will be entered in the census. They are not full members of the kampong, and indeed are regarded as mere "people who have arrived."

632 The list of gemeente in Ende is as follows (and the proper spelling is Rewarangga):

1. Nggobe (town and inland).
2. Rodja (town and peninsula).
3. Rewarangga (five to eight kilometers).
4. Pulo Ende (island).
5. Rukuramba (km. 8 on the way to Badjawa).
6. Berai (km. 6 on the way to Badjawa).
7. Numba (km. 18 on the way to Badjawa).

[See p. 133 of van Suchtelen as cited in bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

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582 in other areas, or working in the gardens lo-
476 cated in another kampong. Here again, it is a
602 matter of marriage. Indeed, only if marriage
621 gives a person some sort of privilege to work in the other kampong does one usually engage himself in such work.

632 Relations between districts have not changed
582 much in recent years. If there are marriages
602 between the districts involved, the same situation obtains as between the kampongs just described. Similar situations are those involving different tribes. Bonds are formed if there are marriage links; if there are no such
[488] links there are no bonds. Trade is so small a factor that it is unimportant in intercommunity relations.

186 The people here love their own kampong and
621 feel that they are lost when they are outside.
●166 Figuratively and literally, they have no place in another kampong. They can see good in another kampong, however, and if they go elsewhere and return they tell about the good things there and may even adopt them themselves. Only the young people, and few of them, want to get out and see other places. Once they are married they never leave.

609 They say that if they leave their own kampong for another they become outsiders. They are then nipatale (beyond the fence). The other term used in suku terminology for outsiders is rere. It means "low." The opposite term, which also occurs among the suku, is belolong ("high").

578 All seven kampongs have been enemies of Riang
621 Kamië. The seven have remained about the same
614 in relationship to each other, but tales tell a
173 bit about the ranking among them. Riang Kamië was formed by a union of several kampongs which were separate formerly. These united into one kampong in defense against the Bai Pitu (seven

War

797 that there was less open conflict than in Leloba.
798 There was a chance to mix the pagan with the new
177 and develop a syncretism. In Leloba it was a
184 life and death struggle, and indeed it was, as
578 the issue shows, a showdown. Perhaps Roy refused to compromise. This is a very interesting contrast. They had their fight out in Leloba and gave up paganism, while Wailolong held onto a little of the old. Indeed, he says that the Catholics in Wailolong do many of the pagan rites today, whereas the Catholics of Leloba have no ceremonies left to participate in.

[665] Since there are no political parties here,
797 and the real issue in Wailolong now is religion,
177 since all depends on it, I went right back to
798 the struggle on this point too. The leader of
578 the Catholics in Wailolong is the guru from Bama. His outside origin is a handicap. (I am just about sure that Roy is the main man to destroy paganism in Leloba. He was the perfect man for the job.) The leader of the pagans is Blawa, the kelake of one of the Datong ama. He is the one who shares the office with the legitimate kelake, Doeng, who is less able to do so. The Radja tuan of this head suku is not so eloquent, and so Blawa is the center of resistance. I asked if he got along all right with the guru and with Roy, and he said yes. Again the mild-
[181] ness of the folk stands out, together with their
[152] tolerance. They simply do not show anger.

Anyway, the pagans, even Blawa, have given up. Their only struggle is over little things (please let us have at least one little girl for a tuno wudjo!). They just try to hold on, like their last gasp. They are going down the road to death, and after them the pagans will be eclipsed. It is dramatic.

●166 The only people who go away from here usually
484 go to jail, as Roy says. This is the only trip they make.

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000 does not amount to much.

178 578 When new things first came in there were certain troubles, but now most of that is over. Nowadays when the old men get drunk they flare up about the old days, but otherwise they keep quiet.

166 The next day the kapitan said that the young men are now starting to talk about going off and becoming sailors or policemen. He has discussed this with the Radja, because he fears that if this goes on too much, the district will be drained of its present population (!). The Radja told him that he would allow only police trainees to leave. Does this mean that the people here have no freedom of movement? Perhaps an impelling factor in this talk is that the kapitan's younger brother recently left here after a vacation. He is a policeman and is being transferred to Sumba. It would take only a few examples to get the wanderlust going perhaps.

601 After a terrific struggle I got the kin terms, and as closely as I can figure them out they go as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| father | baba |
| father's brother | baba susu |
| father's sister | no'o |
| father's brother's son | ari, ka'e (male speaking); nara (woman speaking) |
| father's brother's daughter | veta (man speaking); ari, ka'e (woman speaking) |
| father's sister's son | edja (man speaking); aki (woman speaking) |
| father's sister's daughter | veta (man speaking); ipa (woman speaking) |

Wo

361 hills and down to the coast. This caused much
[648] malaria and misery all over Indonesia. And after many years, the Dutch let them move up higher again, having stopped the spirit of revolt. (One can find this very expression in the reports.)

Five families from Wailolong have moved into Balela, a kampong inside the town of Larantuka (note that several Leloba families have moved there too). Balela is a little uphill, and perhaps this is the reason for the movement. I also think that it may have some relations with the "behind the mountain" area. Anyway, of these five families, only one has moved back to Wailolong. They simply do not move very much.

443 No one, but no one, has moved into the kam-
438 pong, except for women marrying in (and the
● [166] two gurus). There are no toko or shops in Wailolong. They do not even have warong here. The women come from the beach area to sell and buy a few things (e.g., to buy arak, and to sell fish). These women come from such places as Waibalun, Larantuka, etc. But there is not much trade.

484 Everyone here has seen at least some other kampong, if only a nearby one. There are some old people who have never seen Larantuka town, or at least that is what he thinks.

167 Only two people that he knows have left Wailolong to work in some other place. One of them at least went to Borneo. As yet they have not returned.

697 Roy said that all who have been to jail have
648 seen Larantuka town. This is one way to see the world. There is real bitterness here about the jail business, and I hear it cropping up
648 constantly. The Dutch really ruled here with an iron hand, especially Seegeler, they say, whose report I got from Twerda. He was the

342 178 in Tjantjar they use some nails, but also many wooden pegs; perhaps the nails are expensive and hard to get).

Now comes the last stage, when the rectangular houses are coming in all over. A certain pastor went around showing how to build the rectangular type houses, and now everyone follows his model exactly. They do not know any variations! Until 1948 all houses in the Veol--Ndung area were round. Now there are only three left, and Number 11 is to be torn down this month, and they intend to tear down Number 8 soon. In the old days, and now, a round house lasted only ten years, anyway.

166 178 [342] Usually, when they build a new house the whole population of the old one moves out and into the new one en masse. This took place every ten years. They seldom move from the kampong. An exception was the mass move of Tjepang to Tjantjar twenty years ago.

In the past fifty years the only movement he knows of was the Tjepang one. Before this there were many moves out of Veol, and Veol [614] va'u kampongs are found all over the area, as well as families from Veol. But this was all before fifty years ago.

The places to which Veol folk have moved are all in Manggarai, and only in the two or three nearby dalu or gelarang, for example Rahong and Tjibal.

166 578 Families move because of four causes, according to the assistant: (1) arguments over whose pigs are using the troughs and when, (2) arguments over pigs getting into gardens, whereupon the pig would be cut (like the buffalo I saw yesterday), (3) arguments between women over the use of pestles, and (4) marriages of men who went to live with their wives, taking the Veol name with them. Thus it seems that the main cause or causes are arguments, and they

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578 affect mainly the younger branches of panga. The older ones are too important to leave.

[592] Most of the people who leave go as households, except for the men who marry out.

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527 Those who leave never come back, as far as the assistant knows, but there have been returnees in other kampongs. They do come back, however, for the big feasts in the mother kampong. There are five kinds of festive returnees: (1) for kampongs in the gelarang Veol, all must come to Veol for the big feast, and so must Veol go to the tjabang kampong feasts. (2) for kampongs in the dalu Rahong, but in other gelarang, if there is a big feast, a delegation must be sent to the mother kampong, and vice versa. These kampongs have their own tuan tanah in the new Veol kampongs, whereas type (1) kampongs have only a tjabang tuan tanah. (3a) For kampongs outside the dalu Rahong, they may come if they want to, but they need not do so, and vice versa. They have their own tuan tanah. (3b) Isolated Veol families which live in kampongs among other va'u always come back, as otherwise there is no ritual life for them in relation to the ancestors, etc. (4) The Ndung and Veol folk, because they are nearby and of the same va'u, always come to each other's big feasts. (5) The Ndung area kampongs (Ndung gelarang) come to the Ndung feasts. Any of them may come to the Veol feasts too, and vice versa. The pattern in the gelarang Ndung is not so complex, as it is actually a branch of Veol.

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756 The big feasts so treated are: (1) "New Year" which comes in November or December. It is not on any set day, but takes place when the gardens are all set and growing. The work is then over; (2) the building of a tuan tanah house; (3) a "buffalo feast," i.e., a cleansing of the kampong, a time decided by one of mbako, who decides that

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574 troubles in the kampong are due to influences
756 which must be exorcised.

756 This led to a discussion of the mbako.
[887] There are two to three mbako per kampong. They may be men or women, although they are usually men. They are called to work, a job which is not hereditary. They are always old people. They dream, see spirits (e.g., naga), look at their paraphernalia (for example, glass pieces, wood pieces), etc. However, there is no shamanism.

This led to a discussion of the secrecy surrounding the identity of the mbako. He is rather vague and said something about how they don't want to appear "proud." But this doesn't ring true, so I asked the mandur and he said it is because several mbako were imprisoned here because of witchcraft murders (what kind?). Anyway, here is the pattern of secrecy and fear which I see all over here.

166 Of those who have gone away, none has re-
574 turned to Veol, as far as the assistant knows.
783 But there have been returnees to other kampongs.

If a returnee is a man who was imprisoned (note how often the jail theme comes up here; indeed the Dutch ruled by jails!) a feast must be given and buffalo killed. It is called the buka tali, to remove the rope. It also cleanses the returnee of the bad influence of the jail. When the Controleur Bedbeder and Pastor van Bekkum came back from Japanese imprisonment, wherever they went there was a buffalo feast in order to set them finally free.

166 If a family left the area without an argument,
574 then no feast is required on their return, un-
769 less it is a long time afterwards and they have come from far away. For example, a policeman or a soldier who has been away for a long while would go through such a ceremony. Then there must be a feast given for two purposes: to tell

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166 the ancestors that they are back, and to offer
574 something to all the relatives who have died
769 since they went away. This applies to an individual who has been away for a long time and at some distance. If a family departed in anger and with hot words, they must give a feast on their return with the sacrifice of an animal "to clean off the dirty talk."

166 They like to see people return, because they always like to see their kampong and va'u increase in population.

When they move they take with them movables, cattle, etc. If they have relatives in the new kampong, they are received easily. It is notable that the assistant says the ones who leave are always the younger branches, and so they have no status to lose. As for land, the situation is not too clear. I suppose they lose it.

166 If they are merely moving to some nearby
578 kampong, for example, within the same dalu,
614 there is little opposition. If it is within
769 Manggarai, it is not so bad. But if there is a desire to move really far off, there is great trouble, and a youth would probably have to sneak away. The assistant helped a brother of his to sneak off to become a soldier (I think). They try every means to keep them home. All relatives try hard in this. If someone leaves anyway, they have a feast and there is much mourning. The bonds are very close and strong.

One of the main reasons for this family resistance to leavers is because they do *not* want to have the population of the family, panga, or va'u lessened. There is a great fear of depleting the strength of these units. No greater catastrophe can take place than to become extinct. And I found a beautiful ancestor cult reason on the part of the old. The assistant says that the father mournfully asks, "Who

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166 578 614 769 will give me food when I am dead?" This is exactly like the ancestor cult of China, in that there must be descendants to make sacrifices for the soul of the deceased. And there is the same mournful asking by a pagan father whose sons turn to Christianity and therefore probably will not keep up the rites for the dead ancestors: "Who will feed me after I am dead?"

776 361 778 [166] This led to a discussion in regard to the guardian spirit of the kampong. Each kampong has such a re, called naga, and its abode is in the stone heap and the tree thereon in the pusat of the kampong. This is called the tjompang. If there is a great deal of trouble, e.g., illness, a succession of bad crops, etc., [756] the mbako may say that the naga is no longer any good, and if all the people so agree, the whole kampong is moved en masse. When this happens, the old tjompang and tree are left there in the old place and are abandoned. Thus it happens that a naga which for a long time has been benevolent may turn to be malevolent. This may be because the people have not pleased him, or just because he got wicked. He is no longer a good naga, and the people had better get out and get a new place and a new naga (how do they get a new naga? There is a very big feast for a new kampong, so perhaps a new naga is then installed).

Veol moved about two to three generations ago from the place noted on the map (c) on higher ground above the vatu Veol. I thought it was strange that the stone was there, outside of Veol and above Ndung, and also strange that the highest spot was empty. This is where Veol used to be, but the naga became so bad that Veol was moved about one hundred meters below. Also, I noted when I first entered that the tree was small, and when I asked why, they said it was

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776 because it was new. This is because it was
778 planted when they moved (or maybe it was a
361 second new one, as they said the old one died).
Anyway, there is no tree on the old site, just an empty place and some stones. The old tree has evidently died, as he says they do not cut them down. No one would dare live in that place again. They may go there occasionally if there is a reason to do so, but they do not remain there. It is a cursed spot. The vatu Veol is a man, but he does not yet have the story. When the kampong moves, they get a new stone heap and tree (tjompang).

● [166] Many kampongs have moved because their naga have turned bad. Aside from Veol he mentioned Meler and Ladja. They must keep the naga happy, or the situation may become dangerous. Thus the rites held at the tjompang have real meaning. They are for the kampong naga.

342 The house naga lives in each house. His
776 place is the main post. High on this is a lit-
782 tle shelf hung from strings. On this place from time to time the occupants place eggs, rice, and bits of meat. Also, each family apartment or section has a little hanging shelf for the house naga's food. The main post is especially important, and that is why at ceremonies they must give it blood from animals, etc. (There must be a link here with the giving of food to the posts of the Larantuka korke; note that Roy said they must "feed" the posts.)

342 If there is much trouble in the house, the
776 mbako may say that it is because for one reason
[782] or another the house naga is no longer any good. Then they must dismantle the house and build a new one. Many and many a house has been torn down and the folk have then built a new one for this reason. And when they do this, a great expense is entailed, because they may not use the old wood. They sell it to another family

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342 776 or another va'u, who will not carry the naga with them. They buy entirely new wood, even to the very small pieces. They can use no part of the old house. I can see a house built with modern tools being torn down because the naga had turned bad (here again is an interesting case of technique and adat, the new and the old).

124 This is all good information, but it came entirely through questioning, and I had to drag things out a bit, because he is very slow in giving information on his own. Here again I see the secrecy, the reluctance, and the fear which is exhibited so often here. He is under a strain, I think. He sets his jaw and almost groans as the information is pulled out.

This is all new material. I doubt that much of it if any has been published.

166 In the past fifty years I do not know how many people have come to live in this kampong area, but right now the entrants are as follows:

Ndung: 29 women have married in.
9 men have married in.
14 couples have moved in from the outside.

Veol: 27 women have married in.
4 men have married in.
4 couples have moved in from the outside.

None of the people who have come into these kampongs from other areas has come from far away. The farthest that any of them has come from is Todo. I made a list of every case, but there is no use to keep it, because there is no pattern. They are all from nearby places. The suku information is more important in order to see what suku have married in.

The incomers are of three types: women who normally marry in; men who abnormally come to live matrilocally, either because they have paid

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166 no bride price or come for some other cause; and those who have come to "work in the gardens" and have settled in the kampong.

166 425 624 This last category accounts for the many outside couples. Thus I discovered that they can sell land to people from outside, with the consent of the tuan tanah, who, so far as the assistant knows, never makes any trouble over this. The person merely informs the tuan tanah that from now on the tribute from his field such and such will be paid by so and so. There are families which have sold all of their land, but this is rare. They usually sell a part of the lands. What happens is that once a new garden is laid out (and most of the gardens here are in the star shaped pattern) and the tuan tanah has divided the wedges among the families, the assigned section belongs to the family until or unless it is abandoned, whereupon the claim lapses and it is given to another family. The family can sell its garden land (so assigned) to anyone, with notification given to the tuan tanah. The outside people are those who have bought land here, and have come to live here. Thus the assistant, whose family land is in Pau, has bought land in Tjantjar and has moved there.

425 624 This led to a discussion of the division of land. Only when a new garden is laid out is the lodok pole set up. The tuan tanah stands here when he divides the wedges. Each family must get a slice, or perhaps if there are too many families and thus the wedges would be too small, some families await their turn when a new garden is laid out. Once the lodok is used, it stands until it falls. Then a stone is placed at the navel, and there each year the rites of the garden are held.

[565] [634] [661] Then came the "low-down" about the radja. I asked how then do the kraeng get land? Do they

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565 624 167 174 Pongkor. The whole thing is in the dark. I must check Coolhaas at length. The names of the dalu are all Manggarai, and simple. The Radja merely has a Manggarai name.

166 621 614 The newcomers in the kampongs here are no cause for worry, because the original kampong dwellers keep control, no matter how many newcomers there are and how few of them are left. There is a kampong where there are only three old households left, and there are about forty outside households. The three keep control.

Those who have come into the kampongs here comprise both unmarried and married folk. The [567] former all marry in. Some of the present folk who are named as of va'u Veol may well be of slave origin. Slaves were taken into the va'u of their owners. Everyone in the kampong knows which families in the va'u are of slave origin, but they will not tell outsiders. It is certain that the slaves are among the va'u Veol folk, if any.

Usually newcomers have relatives within the kampong, and this is the way so many Tjumbi entered. These relatives form an opening wedge, and others follow. This is like immigration in the United States.

Very few come into the kampong and then leave. The only case is the Tjepang clan. It entered long ago and left about twenty years ago for Tjantjar, en masse. This happens often. A clan enters and increases so much, while the original clan also increases in size, that in the end the original clan says that the immi- [624] grant clan must move. Then the other clan is given a gong-gendang, one of them becomes the tuan tanah of the branch kampong, and off they go. This is what happened in the case of Tjantjar.

624 [614] The man who becomes the branch tuan tanah is the tuan panga of the clan. He gets the gong-

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624 gendang (the aradjang pattern) from the head tuan tanah of the original kampong.

166 609 [443] [335] The groups of people who visit the village more or less regularly (actually only occasionally) are as follows: (1) pastors, (2) traders to buy stock, Chinese, Arabs, etc., (3) a Chinese pedlar who comes with a coolie carrying a pack, (4) government men, and (5) specialist carpenters who come to build houses.

They stay for a short time only, except for the carpenters, who stay for about two months.

One other class is important. It comprises the outsiders who have gardens in the kampong. They come to work in their gardens, stay awhile and leave. They sleep with the kampong folk as their guests.

[584] Family relationships are definitely interrupted by migration. Usually one starts the ball rolling by marriage or by buying a garden, and then relatives follow. This is important in regard to marriage because the young folk become acquainted in this way. It is a case of "propinquity".

166 609 518 The immigrants must follow the local adat absolutely. They take part in the same rituals, pay the tributes of the land, etc. Thus there is no trouble. However, there are occasional difficulties in managing the gardens. For example, the local people become jealous of the outsiders who have big crops, or argue one way or the other. There is not much trouble, however, and usually things are quite serene.

[783] There are no specific ideas about the outside world. Still, when one returns after a long stay in some other place, they have a rite to "clean the dirt." I am informed that there is no opposition shown toward those who accept the outsiders. However, I wonder if there may not be at certain times. Evidently there is no policy of "exclusion," and my guess is that if outsiders are not welcome they are told so and that is all.

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000 that is all.

166 609 567 614 769 There are no rites for ordinary folk who just enter the kampong. In the old days, however, when new slaves came in they had to have rites in order to tell the ancestors that they were new members of the clan. This pretty well clinches the slave entering va'u matter. They just do. This is why the former slaves are members of the clans. Only those on the inside know who is who. The longer the time gets from slavery days the more it is not brought up.

563 443 793 The only Europeans here are the pastors. The traders are Chinese and Arabs and natives. The business of the occasional Chinese pedlar with his coolie is quite usual here. They stay usually for only a few hours.

The pastors tell stories to the local people about Europe, etc. The Chinese who are regular [203] pedlars have been in Manggarai for a long time, and they spread some news.

484 In these local kampongs everyone has been to another kampong. The women go outside their own kampong less often and do not go so far [438] away as the men. Men go out to trade horses, buy tobacco, etc. During the Japanese occupation they ranged far in order to buy cloth, etc. However, all of this was within Manggarai. All have been to Ruteng.

All have been outside Rahong, as they have been to Ruteng. At least fifty per cent of the local population have never seen the sea. One person has gone to Ende, and two have gone to Kupang as soldiers. One went to Makassar to [167] work. The Japanese took several to Riung to work, but most of the people have never left Manggarai. No one from here has ever left Indonesia. In all Manggarai, the assistant thinks only one person has ever left Flores. He is a pastor, I think.

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484 In the Japanese time trips were made to
166 seek cloth, etc., but now this is done to a
lesser degree, and the people never leave Mang-
garai although there is quite a bit of movement
[438] within the area. The people who do this moving
are the men who buy and sell horses, tobacco,
etc. If they are away for long or at some dis-
tance, there is a feast when they return. The
four who have left the area have not yet re-
turned. When they do there will be a great
gathering to hear their experiences. The as-
sistant has seen this happen in Pau. Formerly
there were no relations really with even near-
by places like Tjumbi, except for marriages,
and if they went to war in the dalu's army, or
had internal wars, (which were rare). Nowadays
there are many more relations within Manggarai.
[621] In the rituals the only environs mentioned are
the environs of the kampong. This comprises
the ritual world and the social world of yore.
484 Today they travel more than they did before,
178 but still they do not go very far. Formerly
492 any outsider was fair game for robbery and
166 murder. Thus they were afraid to go afar.
[609] There is little in the way of transportation
here. Also, the kampong is a bit too far from
Ruteng to make regular trips back and forth
easy. However, the horses make Manggarai peo-
ple greater travelers than, for example, the
inhabitants of Larantuka. Every household has
[422] at least one to two horses. They are a big
thing here, and now I see why I got the impres-
sion at once that there is more internal move-
ment here than in most of the Flores areas. It
is the horses. The people are fine riders, and
the horses, although small, are fast and
[562] spirited. Women used to mount carefully and
the horse on which they rode was led. Now they
jump on and gallop off (still, I don't see many
women riding horses).

War

829 all, have heard of Holland and Japan. Beyond these very little is known. Many people know the word America. Wilcox was here recently and then they heard of England. But these are just names. The gurus in Tjantjar know a bit about the outside world.

Nothing is known about the population figures of Indonesia or even for Flores. The school level is too low for even children to know these things. The assistant, however, knows the population of Indonesia, and of the world (exact! two billion!). He knew that there were four hundred and fifty million people in China too! But he did not know about India or the rest of the countries. He was surprised that Holland was so small.

186 Formerly, in the wartime, there was a great feeling for the kampong, but no real thought in regard to patriotism. They like their place and their adat. They dislike Ngada. They say that the people in Ngada kill, are coarse, etc. They don't like Ende, Larantuka, Sikka, etc. They simply do not like the adat from other areas. This is the main point. They hate Bima, and have vivid memories in this regard. Formerly there was no criticism of the Dutch, but now they are getting onto colonialism a bit in retrospect. However, there is no real thought on these things. They know that the Chinese are tipu orang (crooks). They consider Arabs as better people; in fact, they are O.K. They are rich. They have no knowledge about other people.

166 There are kampongs which are declining in population and seem not to amount to much, but the people stay there because it is their kampong. They simply do not move unless they decide their naga is no good.

764 A dead person must be taken back to the home kampong for burial unless (1) it is too far or impossible, or (2) they are already established

[1] Lic., author of "White Stranger, Six Moons in the Celebes", London, 1949 - Analyst]

505 Reo) and went out to a good cattle ship Waikelo.

●166 I talked with a Manggarai lad who was a guard at the pasanggrahan, and he said that there were plenty of Manggarai in Reo now, living in a mixed kampong. They are all Catholics. They no longer have any ceremonies. They have no tjompang. They are from all over and come to seek work because the mountains are so poor.

000 After one day in Sumba: I went to Waingapu, in the Kambera area, and there I met Oudehand, who was formerly at Larantuka. He is a fine man, but is looking for funds to carry on adatrecht work in North Halmahera where he was located before. He is quitting his job soon. We talked for a long while about Leloba, as is apparent from the notes. He lent me his car to drive around the area.

Most of the people in the town of Waingapu are from Savu, Roti, or Minahasa; mainly the former two. The real Sumba folk live in the kampongs. I saw no real big old stone tombs, but I did see a cement one which was large. It was the tomb of a radja, with two horse-riding human figures on top. The stone table grave monuments are all over. They are flat and heavy and are set on uprights. I talked with one of the main radjas at the house. In front were the cement tomb and many tables. He chewed betel and had a headcloth, and a Minahasa assistant (who like many Minahasa officials here can speak a bit of English), and he was a terrible drinker. He is a big radja, but not so big as the two biggest (for East and West Sumba respectively). Oudehand said later that he is supposed to be a Christian (most of them here are Catholics) but seldom goes to church unless he is drunk, when he rides his horse into church.

I asked about the clans (kabisu), and he made a classic gesture of thumbs and fingers in a

IEBC 12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Minangkabau OD10 Buru OH8
Enggano OD6 Ceram OH9
Flores OF9 Gayo-Alas OD7
Redjang-Lampong. OD12



2. *Localized clans.*—The complex of localized sub-clans seems to occur in the interior of many of the smaller islands (*e.g.*, Enggano, Buru, Ceram and Flores).[16] Along the coasts, however, mixed villages have grown up consisting of over-seas aliens and emigrant family groups from the interior. In moving toward the coast, kinship groups keep their independence. Even though they live together with the family groups of other clans in villages under a village chief (korano), they occupy their own exclusive land. The village chief, however, has but little authority over those who are not his fellow-clansmen.

3. *Regional communities of mixed clans.*—Mutually unrelated sub-clans, which make up a territorial community are reported, in the first place, among the Minangkabau. Matrilineal clan members not living in the same "nagari" do not form an autonomous community. The communities are, firstly, the family group (sub-clan) inside the village. These family groups are parts of the same portions of different clans. Those that are of the same clan have become independent by fission; secondly, some (not all) unions of such parts of family groups belonging to unrelated clans; thirdly, the "nagari" formed of sub-clans consisting of family groups, organized or not into units. Minangkabau clans, like the Gayo and the Pubian and many others, have their own names.

It is impossible to find a description of the Minangkabau which does not begin with the warning, "Do not generalize." In consequence, to an even greater degree than in other regions, only main outlines can be presented. If their social organization is to be formulated through a reconstruction of its development from the basic units on up, it is necessary to begin with a given number of clans. At a given instant, women of different clans (along with brothers and their brothers' wives) settle on either unowned land or desert land in the area of disposal of some territorial community. Gradually, the joint families grow in size, and so also the settlement.

The process is as follows. Family groups spring up from the women who are looked upon as the first mothers of the settlement. Subdivisions of clans group themselves as indivisible autonomous communities around the family property (lands, the residence, heirlooms, the family title of the head of the family). The family group (sa buah paruiq) should be imagined as originally located in a family house of its own, with the oldest man of the senior genera-

[16] In the recently explored interior of Dutch New Guinea, localized clans have also been discovered.